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JPRS L/8759

13 November 1979

# Near East/North Africa Report

(FOUO 44/79)

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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

'AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI' INTERVIEWS PALESTINIAN OFFICIAL

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 18-24 Oct 79 pp 28-29 JN

[Interview with Sa'd Sayal, alias Abu al-Walid, director of Central Operation of the Palestinian Revolution and secretary of the Al-'Sifah Forces General Command, military wing of the Fatah movement--date and place not indicated]

[Excerpts] [Question] It has been reiterated that the U.S. black delegation that recently visited Beirut proposed that the Palestinians stop their Fedayeen operations against Israel, in order to pave the way for a dialog with the United States and for official U.S. recognition of the PLO. Do you agree to the cessation of military operations?

[Answer] I do not have ample information on this matter. The U.S. delegation you are talking about is a popular delegation, representing black power in the United States. It did not make such a proposal. As far as I know, all that the delegation did was to give friendly advice to the Palestinian revolution. Their advice concentrated on the subject of terrorism. When the Palestinian armed struggle began it was not based on terror, because the Palestinian rifle is an ethical, disciplined and political rifle that serves political purposes, summed up in the liberation of Palestine.

The Palestinian people are not the first people struggling for liberation and freedom and they will not be the last. Even the United States fought a war of liberation for its independence. We in the Palestinian revolution have already reconsidered certain military operations. There is total agreement among all the organizations to halt such operations, primarily the hijacking of planes.

Despite the fact that the Israeli forces attack civilians, children and schools in all of their onslaughts, we promise the world's nations that we will do our best to choose our targets in the occupied land more carefully and accurately. At the same time, we are doing our best to avoid harming children and the elderly. Often however, we are unable to do so.

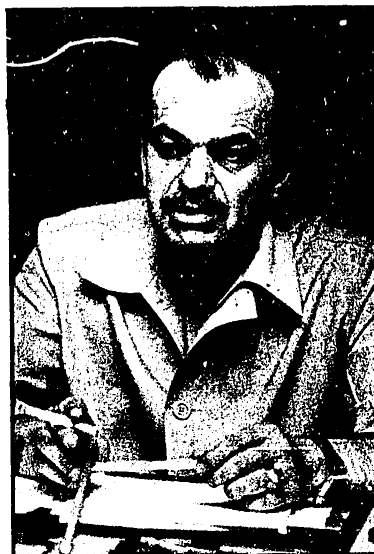
I would like to add that the Palestinian struggle has become a legitimate one in the eyes of the world. This fact has been confirmed in UN resolutions, which hold the Palestinian people's struggle to be legitimate.

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[Question] Do you think that the dialog with the American blacks will lead to a dialog with U.S. officials?

[Answer] We are hoping that this dialog with the largest sector of the U.S. people will lead to an understanding of our cause and deprivation. Subsequently, we hope that a general U.S. public opinion will be formed in favor of our cause, as happened on Vietnam, for instance. At this juncture, I would like to say that our openness to all the nations in the world and our attempts to explain our cause to them are intended to confirm that our struggle is simultaneously both military and political. This is evidence of the Palestinian people's love of peace. It also proves that terrorism is alien to this people.



[Question] Briefly, does this mean that there can be no scope for halting military operations against Israel?

[Answer] Naturally. We cannot halt our military operations as long as our objectives have not been attained. Experience has taught us this. The Palestinian issue itself has taught us this. This issue remained in the hands of the Arab regimes for more than 20 years. This period is sufficient for political methods, which led nowhere.

[Question] No cessation of military operations against Israel: Are you hoping to transform the military operations into a total armed revolution against occupation in the occupied land?

[Answer] We always seek to develop fedayeen operations inside and outside the occupied land. It is known that our operations began with explosive charges, bombs and mines and developed into daring operations, such as the Savoy operation in the center of Tel Aviv and the recent Dalal al-Mughrabi operation between Haifa and Tel Aviv. We are continuing to develop these operations.

As for the escalation of operations, this is natural. This year, the degree of escalation of Palestinian military operations has been noticeable.

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I believe this escalation is one of the reasons for Israel's recurrent aggression against southern Lebanon, because by this aggression, Israel hopes to put the Palestinian revolution in the occupied land on the defensive. This, of course, is an objective that Israel cannot attain. We are determined to escalate and develop our military operations until they become a total revolution throughout the occupied land.

[Question] Does the military escalation mean, for example, resorting to suicidal operations against Israel?

[Answer] The Palestinian revolution is a revolution until victory, but not a revolution until suicide. In my opinion, such operations would deform the march of the Palestinian struggle.

[Question] Does the escalation mean, for example, a Palestinian closure of the Hormuz Strait?

[Answer] I cannot answer this question and reveal our military plans. It has become well-known that statements made about the closure of Hormuz Strait are meant to distort the Palestinian revolution and, consequently, to give justification for foreign interference in the Arab region. The Palestinian revolution knows very well what targets it must strike in the service of our cause.

[Question] It has been reiterated that a decision has been made on closing the Palestinian offices outside the Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

[Answer] Yes, there is a decision on closing the offices inside the Lebanese towns and villages, but a more important decision is that on maintaining optimal Palestinian-Lebanese relations. The closure of the offices is but part of the second decision.

[Question] Has the actual implementation of this decision begun?

[Answer] The implementation has begun in the south and in Beirut. We keep watching and studying the situation, cancelling what is harmful to and unnecessary for our Lebanese brothers.

[Question] Do you support the Lebanese army's entry into southern Lebanon, into Tyre and al-Nabatiyah, as a first stage, followed by a more thorough the entire border strip?

[Answer] As I have said, we support everything that enables the Lebanese authorities to impose their sovereignty over the whole Lebanese territory. We have previously expressed this stand, saying that we are ready to offer all facilities for the army's entry into southern Lebanon.

[Question] Some people insist on saying that the Palestinians seek to render Lebanon a substitute for their homeland.

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[Answer] In its fight in southern Lebanon, the Palestinian revolution not only defends itself; it also defends Lebanon and the Arab nation. At the same time, this revolution defends its principle: The principle of liberation and a return to Palestine. The enemy forces' reiteration that the Palestinians seek to settle in southern Lebanon is totally rejected. If the Palestinians had agreed to settle in southern Lebanon instead of Palestine, there would be no need for a Palestinian revolution. The best proof of the Palestinians' rejection of settling in southern Lebanon is their determination to return to Palestine and their total rejection of the Camp David agreement. The Camp David agreement is settlement in itself, because it deals with none of the Palestinians outside the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

[Question] Let us return to the subject of sending the Lebanese army to the south. Have there been Lebanese-Palestinian military meetings to coordinate in this respect?

[Answer] The details have not yet been discussed. Thus, the military committees have not met to make arrangements for the Lebanese army's entry. But it is possible that this will take place in the near future.

[Question] Does the concept of ending Palestinian military operations through Lebanese territories come within the framework of not giving Israel justification to attack the south?

[Answer] Yes, this is true. In the past, we were committed to the Lebanese authorities not to carry out operations from Lebanese territories and we are still honoring this commitment. We consider it a pan-Arab commitment to avoid giving the Israeli enemy justification for attacking Lebanon.

[Question] Israel may hold that the fedayeen sea operations against it are carried out via Lebanese territories.

[Answer] Such acts are not launched from Lebanese territories, but Israel covers up its aggression against Lebanon by creating justifications and pretexts for the world public. These are flimsy pretexts with which Israel thinks it can cover up its aggression. Recently, Israel stopped making many such pretexts and its leaders announced that they will reply to any operation carried out inside the occupied territory by striking against Lebanon. I think that this has exposed Israeli intentions and ambitions in Lebanon.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLO'S 'ARAFAT GRANTS INTERVIEW TO PARIS 'AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI'

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 25-31 Oct 79 pp 28-31 JN

[Interview with PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat by AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI correspondent Safiq al-Hut--date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] The Havana Summit Is Political Ammunition

We asked Yasir 'Arafat about the Havana summit and whether its results were what he had hoped, particularly regarding the Palestinian issue.

Yasir 'Arafat said: We should always remember that we are a national liberation movement and a part of the world liberation movement. Thus we move within this framework on the international level. There are numerous interconnected issues and we should contribute to solving others' problems with the same enthusiasm with which we ask them to contribute in solving ours. Proceeding from this premise, I consider the nonaligned summit conference an unqualified great success.

Political Struggle and the Political Solution

We asked him about his visit to Madrid and Ankara and about his assessment and interpretation of this move, implemented by the PLO in Western Europe, which began with the visit to Vienna and the meeting with Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt. Some of these questions were tinged with anxiety as to whether this move reflects any change in the PLO's strategy.

The Palestinian leader's reply was as follows: In replying to these questions, I would first like to draw attention to the fact that our information organs, more than any other, should hold themselves aloof from sources that are hostile to our struggle and determined to distort our words and moves. Unfortunately, I have noticed that some reports and comments in certain Arabic newspapers published only meters away from us sound as if they are from another world.

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'Arafat added: Regarding our political move, we should distinguish between political struggle and the political solution. Since our national council has approved the adoption of political struggle as an indivisible part of our general struggle, led by armed struggle, it is incumbent upon us to struggle in this sphere, as in the battle arena, to wrest further victories. You all remember how difficult our first step was, when we decided to go to the United Nations. You all remember the efforts to cast doubt that we heard. Today everyone realizes how beneficial that political step was in reversing international events. At the beginning of our political move, we were faced by a world that knew and recognized nothing but Israel. A large part of world public opinion had fallen prey to Zionist propaganda and thought that there was nothing called Palestine, or at least that there was no longer anything called Palestine and Palestinians. Thanks to our struggle and our martyrs' blood, we were able to gradually wrest recognition of us and our existence. In my opinion, recognition of the Palestinian individual is a natural preamble to recognition of a Palestinian homeland and of all the rights that are entailed therein. I would like to remind you that recognition by many friendly states, the friendship of which we are proud, came only after long struggle and patience.

Brezhnev Shouted "Comrade 'Arafat"

A few years ago, our relationship with Moscow was on a specific and known level. A few days ago, on the German forces' reviewing stand during the 30th anniversary of the GDR's independence, Brezhnev stood up and embraced me in front of an elite of socialist country leaders and television cameras, which transmitted this scene to millions in the socialist world, saying: "Comrade 'Arafat, Comrade 'Arafat."

Abu 'Ammar paused and then added: I am telling this story so that everyone can understand that our issue's advancement in any field does not come automatically and without toil and perseverance. Have you forgotten that the Arab states' recognition of us as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people came only after 9 years of struggle?

Going back to the essence of the question, I would like to say that the expansion of international recognition of us is one of the timed objectives called for by our national council. We all know that Western Europe and the United States are the last international blocs that have not yet recognized us on the level that we have achieved in the socialist world, the non-aligned world and the Islamic world.

Why Am I the Only One Who Is Responsible?

Yasir 'Arafat continued: I have been asked by one of our youths about my visit to Turkey, which is a NATO member, and about the significance of a political exchange with it. Others wanted to remind me that Turkey has annexed the (al-Iskandarawn) Province, as if the Palestinian revolution is responsible for the loss of this province or the only one responsible, among the

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Arab countries whose embassies fill Ankara, for regaining it. I, the Palestinian alone, is being asked to effect all the pan-Arab aspirations.

Everyone should understand that when we deal with any party we are inspired by our principles, from which we do not deviate and which we do not conceal. We do not bargain over our principles. Rather, we made it a point to reaffirm these principles to Prime Minister Ecevit, who replied that despite the differences between us on certain problems, specifically Cyprus, the new Turkish stand on the PLO is also a principled stand that is not influenced by transient problems.

That which applies to my Ankara visit also applies to my visit to Madrid and to the Vienna meeting. As a commentator has said: There were fortresses that were shut to us and open to our enemy. Today we are entering one fortress after another, holding the beacons of our martyrs and the principles for which they shed their blood. We enter these fortresses with the justice of our cause, our steadfast people and our glorious nation.

They Participated With Me in the Talks and Attacked Me

We asked him about black power in the United States, Andrew Young's resignation and the black leaders' visits to the region, particularly that of Jesse Jackson, and the statements that were issued or said to have been issued on violence, nonviolence and on a ceasefire in southern Lebanon.

The leader of the revolution replied: This is another issue around which the press has raised a lot of dust, despite its simplicity and the clarity of our stand on it. I do not want to use this opportunity to criticize or censure certain people, who are on a responsible Palestinian level and who made some strange and weird statements. Some of these participated in my meetings with Reverend Jackson. They were also entrusted with issuing the official statement on the Palestinian opinion of this issue and on all the discussions that I held with the black leaders, especially Jackson.

I leave these people to comment as much as they want. As I have said, my task is to shape events. What happened in the United States after Young's resignation, who is considered a black leader there? There was an uproar. The blacks began to inquire about the resignation and its causes. This was tantamount to a wide door through which the Palestinian issue penetrated to a large popular sector.

What did we have to do? Do we stand idle and watch, or do we benefit from this open door, by explaining our cause and demands and clearing our militant image, which has been marred by hostile information? We moved. We contacted the black leaders and explained our stand to them. We invited them to come and see for themselves the distorted pictures that previously reached them through twisted channels.

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We Replied to Hell

Abu 'Ammar continued: Regarding the ceasefire in the south, everyone knows that there is a decision by the Lebanese-Palestinian joint command to cease fire. Everyone knows that we do not open fire except in reply to the hell that the enemy directs against us, in view of political reasons that are a secret to no one, specifically to deprive Israel and its allies of a pretext that has become mythical; namely, that Israel is striking at us in reply to our blows.

Our Move Is Subject to Studied Planning

We asked him: Are there plans for future visits? There is talk about visits to Lisbon, Paris and the United Nations in New York.

He said: Our political move is subject to studied and specific planning. At the same time, it is governed by the results of the direct and indirect contacts that we are constantly undertaking with European capitals. We are aided by certain Arab brothers, who possess influence due to their political and economic relations with these capitals.

Regarding Lisbon, a world conference in support of the Palestinian issue and the Arab people will be held at the beginning of November. I have received an invitation to attend the opening session. I have also received an invitation from the Portuguese Communist Party. I am expecting another invitation that will be fundamental in deciding my visit.

Regarding my visit to Paris, I have received an invitation from my friend, Comrade Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party. I have gratefully accepted the invitation but I have not yet set the date for the visit. There are special Arab efforts, particularly by fraternal Iraq, to push French-Palestinian relations qualitatively forward. We are waiting for the results of these efforts.

My visit to the United Nations in New York is still under study by the Palestinian command. Although we have not made a decision yet, my friend Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky has invited me in advance to a special reception that he will host in my honor in the UN building.

We asked him: What are your expectations regarding the forthcoming Arab summit conference? What is on its agenda? Will it be restricted to a discussion of the situation in southern Lebanon or will it deal with the entire issue in the area, particularly the Palestinian issue?

'Arafat replied: Before anything else, I would like to point out that we in the Palestinian revolution would like to convene this conference on the date set at the Baghdad summit. Our aim will focus on discussing means of bolstering the revolution and southern Lebanon against the Zionist criminal military onslaughts to which we are subjected daily, due to our belief in

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the power and greatness of this legendary steadfastness, which was brought about by the crucial cohesion between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

At this conference, we will certainly discuss the necessity of and ways of continuing the steps and plans to confront the Camp David conspiracy and the self-rule farce in the occupied land. We should escalate our steps and develop our plans, particularly after the seriousness of this suspect deal and the real dangers it brings to the entire Arab nation have been exposed.

We will discuss the new changes in the U.S. arena due to the influence of black power, men of the church and other social and civil symbols. We will also discuss how to boost and support these circles and consolidate their positive stand on our just cause.

There are also the changes that have taken place on the Eastern front, which is shouldering the major burden in confronting the Zionist enemy following the collapse of the Western front (Egypt). This is one of the most important and serious topics that we will discuss. Furthermore, we will study the necessity of utilizing all our Arab weapons in the service of the battle of destiny, particularly the oil weapon and the oil funds.

Our Strategic Depth Is Pan-Arab

We asked him about the Palestinian revolution's current relations with the Arab countries and about the revolution's stand on certain contradictions that we see here and there.

The answer was: The Palestinian revolution has its own characteristics, interconnections and affiliations. It is not a local or regional liberation movement. It is connected and inacts with all Arab events. Our revolution's strategic depth is pan-Arab. What happens in the Arab Maghreb between Algeria and Morocco, particularly in the wake of the Egyptian regime's attempt to escalate the conflict by blatant intervention, affects us directly and indirectly. What happens in the Eastern front also affects us, whether we like it or not. The same thing applies to the Iranian revolution's relations with the Gulf States.

For these reasons, I recently visited the Arab Maghreb--Tunis, Algiers and Rabat--to rob al-Sadat of the opportunity of aggravating the situation and distracting that part of the Arab homeland from our central and fateful cause.

The same thing applies to the Gulf. The Palestinian revolution is exerting great efforts, away from the media's clamor, to reorganize the situation and normalize relations. After my visit to Tehran and my meeting with Ayatollah Khomeyni, I told my brothers in the Gulf what his eminence had told me. "We and the Arabs in the Gulf have no differences between us because the Gulf is an Islamic area."

The visit by Brother Abu Jihad and the delegation that accompanied him to Tehran is part of this framework, which consists of holding the highest

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level meetings. Our constant action derives from our awareness of a constant fact of struggle: That the dispute with our Zionist enemy is above all disputes. It is a fateful dispute, which threatens the nation and the homeland. Therefore, we must mobilize all potentials and provide the necessary circumstances required by our struggle to achieve victory.

We Do Not Want To Act Without the Arabs

We asked him: In a recent interview, Saddam Husayn was reported to say that the solution to the crisis lies in a formula that would include Iraq, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinian revolution, around which the Arabs would rally. What do you think of that?

Abu 'Ammar replied: In my reply on my expectations concerning the forthcoming Arab summit, I referred to the need to discuss the "Eastern Front," because it has become the first confrontation line following the collapse of the Western front. I also said that this topic is perhaps the most important topic for study, given the importance we allot to this front's geopolitical character, as it does in fact contain Iraq, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinian revolution. However, I would like to stress the explanation given by President Saddam Husayn in the course of his interview, when he said "this formula does not mean that these four Arab parties act in isolation from the Arabs. On the contrary, the action of these four parties should be qualitatively advanced and connected to the Arabs' potentials.

We asked him: During his New York visit, King Husayn praised the developing Jordanian-Palestinian relations and described his recent meeting with you after the Havana summit as important, adding that it contributed to strengthening these relations. Today, press reports speak about a new visit you will be making to Amman, to hold another meeting. How do you, yourself, describe these relations?

Yasir 'Arafat replied: Our relations are constantly developing. We constantly try to coordinate our joint policies, which were drafted by the Baghdad summit conference for the purpose of foiling the Camp David schemes and the autonomy farce. We are in agreement that there is no authority who can speak for the Palestinian people and the fate of Palestine but the Palestinian people, who have chosen the PLO as their sole legitimate representative.

The Palestinian people's right to self-determination is a divine right that no one can wrest from them. We are also working to liberate our occupied territories, because the struggle's primary objective requires the liquidation of the occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories, particularly now that the Zionist conspiracy to Judaize our lands and holy places, including the requisites of our daily life such as land and water resources, has been revealed.

Our action is based on this common concept, which we constantly seek to strengthen. Any visit to Amman comes within this framework, on which agreement has been reached.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

HANI AL-HASAN DISCUSSES PLO'S NEW POLITICAL STRATEGY

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 20-26 Sep 79 pp 30-31

[Interview with Hani Abu al-Hasan by Faruq Abu Zahar: "Hani al-Hasan Says, 'Washington Has To Recognize the Palestinian People; We Do Not Accept Neutrality of Europe in Subject of Jerusalem and We Insist on an Independent State; Chou En Lai Told Me, 'You, the Arabs, Have a Deployable Nuclear Bomb'""]

[Text] Hani al-Hasan is Yasir 'Arafat's political adviser. He is one of the well-known leaders of the Fatah Organization. In addition, he is the PLO's representative in Iran. Hani al-Hasan had attended the summit for nonaligned countries in Havana as Abu 'Ammar's companion. Then he went to Rabat on a mission that pertained to the Palestinian mediation effort between Morocco and Algeria. It was important for AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI to meet with him in Paris where he stopped briefly in the midst of his activities.

[Question] The liberation organization has rejected al-Sadat's initiative and the United States' Camp David course. In the light of recent activities, the organization seems to have returned to a dependence on the American solution to solve the crisis!

[Answer] We, in the liberation organization and in the Fatah Movement have learned several principles. The first one of these principles is to say a revolution until victory and not a revolution until martyrdom. That means that what is required is the achievement of victory and not death. Second, we learned that the armed struggle cultivates, and the political struggle reaps.

Up to this moment we are reaping the fruits of the failure of Kissinger's plan to eliminate the liberation organization. This is the plan that Andrew Young revealed when he resigned. He said, "In 1975 we agreed to liquidate the liberation organization, but it has become evident that after 4 years we failed to do so."

We are in fact reaping the fruits of the policy of escalating the armed struggle inside the occupied land for the purpose of developing our struggle

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and realizing gains for our people. The slogan that we are proclaiming now is flexibility without laxity. No one can prove that we were remiss in any one of our issues. The proof for this lies in the fact that all that we are being asked to do is to amend the charter of the liberation organization and renounce the statement that we are trying to eliminate Israel. They are asking us to stop the armed struggle in order to negotiate. This means that we have not put down the gun.

We are now in a stage of taking and not of giving. In 1948 the Palestinian situation was collapsing, and the Israeli enemy was taking [what was ours]. But today, we have nothing to give, and the victory of our cause lies in the shift from fleeing [from our land] to returning to it and from making concessions to partial taking [of what is ours].

They are talking about autonomy and self-rule. We reject all these matters. Ultimately, what is being proposed is to take away [what is ours], but the dispute is on the level of taking [what is ours]. I am convinced that this is major progress.

In addition, the upshot of the Baghdad Summit was a political statement that required all the Arab countries to rally around it. Isolation and progress do not constitute a Palestinian position. We cannot disregard the statement and make progress in isolation from the living body of the Arab countries or from our allies in the socialist countries.

We Insist upon an Independent State

[Question] The U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK has hinted that the PLO did agree with King Husayn on a proposal to reunify the West Bank with Jordan to avoid an Israeli veto of a Palestinian state.

[Answer] Actually, matters have not yet reached that stage in the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue which has without a doubt achieved significant progress. At the present stage we are insisting on establishing an independent Palestinian state, and we are insisting on the word, independent.

This is not a regional position, as you know. We, the people of Fatah believe that he who is not a nationalist cannot be a member of Fatah. The Palestinian is the only one in the Arab region who cannot be regional [in his outlook].

Talking about an independent Palestinian state means that the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will not be demilitarized because demilitarization cannot take place in this country while the neighboring countries remain armed. Furthermore, an independent country cannot give up its capital, Jerusalem. An independent country means that every Palestinian outside the country is a refugee.

We are insisting upon an independent state that cannot live in isolation and has no alternative but to choose between Israel and Jordan. It is

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natural that the future of Palestinian-Jordanian relations would inevitably unite them. In fact, why shouldn't that extend and include more than Jordan? Why should it not include Syria and also Iraq?

At any rate we are pleased with the recent meeting that took place between Brother Abu 'Ammar and King Husayn and with the meeting that took place between them in Havana.

I think that King Husayn has begun to understand Palestinian demands, and the Palestinians have also begun to recognize the limits of the actions that the king would accept. We now have two choices: are we with Palestine or with Israel? Are we with Camp David, or are we against it? We are hoping that the neighboring Arab countries will help us achieve more progress in the area of Jordanian-Palestinian relations because the Arabs stand to gain much from this.

#### Europe Has Discovered Al-Sadat's Weakness

[Question] Why is the liberation organization focusing its diplomatic action on the dialogue with Europe? Why did 'Arafat meet with [officials in] Spain before meeting with [officials in] France, for example?

[Answer] The diplomacy of the liberation organization at present is trying to isolate the Zionist entity from all its former allies. These alliances are based primarily in the United States, in Canada, in Europe and in Latin America. Hence, we believe that the U.S. battle will be a long one, and isolating the United States from Israel will require time. For this reason we turned towards Europe.

I believe that the Baghdad Summit surprised European society. The Europeans believed that al-Sadat was the strongest [Arab leader], and they believed him when he told them that all the Arabs were with him and that the situation in the Middle East would become more stable because of him. But the situation changed after the resolutions of the Baghdad Summit. [It became evident that] al-Sadat was not all the Arabs but that there was an Arab public opinion and that the Baghdad Summit had genuine power. This is in addition to the power of the actual confrontation front that is made up of Syria, Iraq, the liberation organization and Jordan. This front also includes Arab oil and the financing power, represented by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states.

It is through this course that I began to reconsider the former considerations [we had made] inside Europe. The Vienna meeting followed, and it was preceded by the Iranian situation that is no longer a card in the hands of U.S. imperialism.

I believe that Western Europe in its entirety is now facing the reality of a choice between protecting its own interests and recognizing the Palestinian question. Europe's refusal to make that choice following the Baghdad Summit

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signifies a confrontation with the Arab force in its entirety and not only with the liberation organization.

Because the organization recognizes the importance of the Baghdad Summit, we have tried to take advantage of this victory, that was manifested in the Arabs rallying around one position, and we conducted broad conversations with the Europeans. The fact is that Spain was one of the forerunners in this area.

France...and then West Germany

[Question] Historically, Spain has taken positive positions or at least has not officially aligned itself with the Arabs and the Zionists. And now whose turn is it after Spain?

[Answer] It is true. Spain has not yet recognized the Zionist entity, and we will never forget this position.

As far as contacts are concerned, negotiations are not ongoing with French officials. I believe that a meeting between 'Arafat and President Valery Giscard d'Estaing will take place soon. I also believe that West Germany has begun to realize that it is standing at a crossroads. It may be said that contacts will soon be made with the Germans through an Arab country for the purpose of consulting with them about the pending subjects.

[Question] It seems that the proposed visit of Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan to Germany took place to place obstacles in front of these contacts!

[Answer] This is true. The truth is that Germany can no longer endure more than it has [already] endured. The guilt complex that Germany has had because of crimes committed by the Nazis against the Jews is no longer relevant. We cannot forget what Germany did offer Israel. It was Germany that enabled Israel to overcome the economic blockade that was imposed by the Arabs.

We do not accept [the proposition] that the European countries remain neutral on the question of Jerusalem. This is a matter that is not negotiable, and this must be known to the Europeans. The fact is that Morocco is making efforts, for which we are grateful, in the area of making contacts with Europe.

I can say that we have begun to win the battle of Europe. There are also positive positions on the part of the countries of Latin America.

Mediation in the Question of the Sahara.

[Question] Speaking of Morocco, is it true that the PLO has expressed its willingness to mediate between Morocco and Algeria?

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[Answer] It is known that there are attempts to break up al-Sadat's isolation. These attempts may be summarized in the Egyptian president's offer of assistance to whomever needs it. The United States is encouraging al-Sadat in his efforts to play this role. But experience has taught us, the Palestinians, that the problem at hand is more urgent than the one down the road. It is for this reason that we took the initiative to visit Morocco so that we may not fall into the trap and find Morocco isolated from the liberation organization and from the Baghdad Summit.

Weapons were sent to Morocco via Egypt. We discussed this matter with King Hasan II, and we agreed that the position on Camp David and on the liberation organization must not be affected by the new relations with Egypt.

The best ways for isolating al-Sadat consist of stopping any Arab fighting. Otherwise, the front will be broken. We are, therefore, very concerned about terminating all forms of Arab fighting. You cannot imagine how delighted we were when Iraq and Syria survived the wrath [that dominated their relationship] in recent months and coordinated [their efforts] together in Havana.

What is required is a solution on the Sahara question that would please everybody. This is essential and important. No progressive or revolutionary person can place more importance on any other question than that of Camp David.

The victory of Camp David would mean the onset of a Zionist age in the area. If this age were to begin, no battle that was won on the banks of the Barada, the Euphrates or in the Sahara would have any value.

I want to point out in this regard that Brother Abu 'Ammar is making major efforts to bring an end to the fighting around the Sahara. We hope that there will be agreement among all the parties soon.

The Importance of U.S. Recognition

[Question] Let us go back to the question of relations with the United States. Why is there a Palestinian insistence that the United States recognize the PLO? What is the price that is being asked for that recognition?

[Answer] In order to realize a political gain for the Palestinian people, we must reap the fruits of our local and international action, and we must wrest full recognition for the Palestinian people. If the major countries do not recognize us, we would not have gained much because any question in this age requires this recognition. Otherwise, the obstacles would remain lengthy and bitter.

[Question] Does this mean that we must take into consideration the international balances of power?

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[Answer] Yes. The socialist countries are with us now, and we are trying to win over the European countries. If we were to take U.S. recognition into the equation, such recognition would lead to the isolation of Israel, especially since the recognition will be a recognition of the Palestinian people and not of Resolution 242. We are insisting that the Americans learn the expression, "the rights of the Palestinian people," and they must learn to write the phrase, "Palestinian rights."

In this regard, I want to emphasize that we will not accept any conditional recognition, whether it be tied to recognition of the Zionist entity or to any other condition. I believe that for the United States, it is a matter of time. The United States will ultimately have to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people.

[Question] Can I say after all this that you are optimistic?

[Answer] The present stage that the world is experiencing is that of energy and not that of war. Everyone is fighting to get energy, and he who wants to ensure its flow has to ensure peace and stability. Today, in the United States public opinion is increasingly calling for stability in the Middle East, or at least for freezing the struggle. People who are calling for stability outnumber those who are advocating war, as was the case in President Johnson's administration.

I will mention in this regard that Moshe Dayan had gone to Washington to complain to President Johnson that 'Abd-al-Nasir had closed the Suez Canal and the U.S. president told him, "Why don't you wage war against him?"

We are very pleased that Iraq has notified the countries that purchase its oil that as of the beginning of next year, it will reconsider all oil sales contracts, and that the sale of oil would be tied to political questions. If all the Arab countries were to follow Iraq's footsteps in stipulating political positions in exchange for facilitating the flow of oil and the conditions of its sale, much would be achieved.

The late Chinese leader Chou En Lai told me in 1973 in my last meeting with him, "You, the Arabs, are the only ones in the world who have a deployable nuclear weapon, and that is oil."

The Importance of U.S. Black Power

[Question] To what extent do you believe a dependence on the black lobby in the United States can be beneficial?

[Answer] The removal of Andrew Young from his position as U.S. ambassador to the international organization revealed to the ordinary U.S. citizen that the U.S. establishment was neither free nor independent in its foreign policy and that it was controlled by the Zionist lobby even with regard to making decisions on the simplest matters that pertained to U.S. interests.

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The Palestinian problem has shifted and has become an internal problem in the United States. This is a major gain that the primary Arab cause has achieved. It became the focus of discussion in society. We expect that it will also become a basic problem in the presidential campaigns. The entry of U.S. public opinion as a party to the matter is an important matter, and now the breakthrough has come from the poor in U.S. society, and they constitute the black power.

Historically, we are the allies of the poor blacks because of the class situation and not because of their color. We do not discriminate, and we do not accept that we establish relations on the basis of color or race.

I believe that because of the solidarity it has established to defend its interests, black power in the United States constitutes the proper bridge for reaching out to all of U.S. society. We will try hard to achieve this in the next stage.

Major Success for Arab Diplomacy

[Question] How do you evaluate the results of the summit of non-aligned countries in Havana?

[Answer] The recent conference of non-aligned countries has achieved major success. Its condemnation of the Camp David course was evident and so was its position of support for the Palestinian people. But the conference did not adopt a resolution to expel Egypt, and it was satisfied with forming an investigative committee. This means that Egypt's membership is still under investigation.

If we were to compare the resolutions that were issued in Havana with those that were issued before that in Monrovia, we would see that the Arab cause did achieve significant progress. Arab diplomacy did also achieve more success than we had expected.

[Question] How was the standard of coordination among the Arab delegations in Havana?

[Answer] There was an atmosphere of tension and caution at the beginning of the conference because of what had been said about the future of Syrian-Iraqi relations, considering that these two countries constituted, along with the PLO, the principal confrontation axis within the Baghdad summit countries. But it was possible to bring the Iraqi-Syrian dispute to an end, to rise above what had happened and to devote ourselves to facing the question of destiny.

Iraq proved during the conference that it was forgetting its wounds. Consequently, coordination efforts were given the green light, and these efforts were carried out in the sessions and outside the sessions without provoking any sensibilities. This made the Arab group in its entirety speak one language and submit a unified proposal.

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Iran Wants a Role in the Gulf

[Question] There are specific actions in Kuwait, Bahrain and some of the Gulf states, and it is being said that Iran is behind those actions. What do you think?

[Answer] Iran today feels that it has a specific role in the area other than that of a policeman. Unless some agreement is reached between Iran and its neighbors on this question, the area will experience sharp tension.

According to my information, the current regime is not behind what is taking place in some of the Gulf states. Recently there were sharp debates within the ruling Iranian establishment. Ayatollah Khomeyni and [the late] al-Talqani, may God have mercy on his soul, supported the theory that Iran was to be a role model for influencing his neighbors. And this is the opinion to which the government is inclined.

We must emphasize that bringing the Iranian-Arab difference to an end is an important matter. I believe that convening an Arab-Iranian conference that comprises the Gulf area under slogans that are Islamic, Palestinian or slogans that revolve around the question of Jerusalem could be one of the important matters for investigating the security of the Gulf. Accordingly, we are to shift towards a political style and not a confrontation style in dealing with Iran.

We must deal with the existing regime in Tehran with composure, with awareness and with patience, because we must know that the establishment that has been there did collapse and that a new establishment is in the process of being built. The situation there is very sensitive, and the transitional period has not yet come to an end.

[Question] Voices have been heard in Iran accusing the PLO of interfering in Iranian internal affairs, and those voices were referring to you personally, since you are the organization's representative.

[Answer] The PLO cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Iran because we respect the sovereignty of Iran and the people of Iran. We also know that these people do not need anybody's patronage.

I do not believe that there was a complaint by the principal ruling parties in Iran, but rather the complaint had come from some forces that had tried in the past to provoke this chauvinism. I believe that these forces were defeated and that their voices can no longer be heard, especially after some of them were banished from the country.

The Excesses Are Not Worthy of the Revolution

[Question] Speaking of recent Lebanese events, there are those who are taking advantage of palestinian excesses to arouse the rancor of the people of South Lebanon, How does the resistance view this matter in particular?

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[Answer] There is no doubt that history will go on record stating that the Lebanese people did endure for Palestine more than any other people. These excesses must be suppressed quickly, and firm measures must be taken. I have learned that Brother Abu 'Ammar will issue firm measures that are very important with regard to the Lebanese scene. He will try to establish joint committees between us, the legitimate government, the National Movement and the popular bases to avoid the occurrence of further excesses that are primarily not in the interests of the Palestinian people.

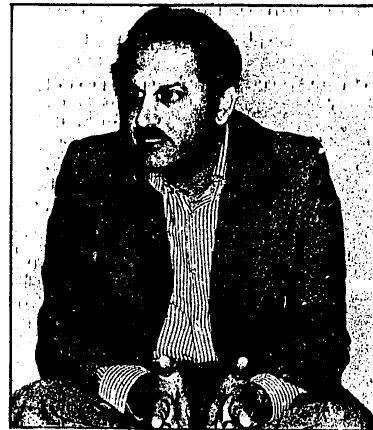


PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. We began to understand King Husayn.
2. Iran wants to play a role in the Gulf other than that of the policeman.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

KLIBI PORTRAYED IN BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, INTERVIEW

Intellectuality Key to Personality

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 10 Oct 79 p 71

[Article by Omar S'Habou]

[Text] The candidacy of Chedli Klibi, who was elected secretary general of the Arab League on 28 June 1979, was a bit of a surprise.

The former Tunisian minister of information is not a career diplomat. And his position as a member of the Arab Academy of Literature did not confer upon him a Pan-Arab dimension of the kind which would justify such an action. International diplomatic sectors had been accustomed to seeing the evolution of better-known Tunisian personalities, such as Mohamed Masmoudi, Habib Bourguiba, Jr. or Habib Chatti. Even in Tunisia, "Si Chedi" is well known for his discretion.

Fifty-four years of age, the father of three children, slightly built with the sober elegance befitting intellectuals, which is accentuated by the sunglasses he is almost never without, Chedli Klibi is a product of the Tunisian middle-class which draws upon urban traditions, as indicated by his passion for Andalusian music, among other things.

His opponents maintain that he owes his exceptional political longevity to his self-effacement. His supporters, on the other hand, say that it is due to his cleverness. What is certain is that Chedli Klibi is one of the rare Tunisian "politicians" who have from independence (1956) up to now withstood the flurries and twists and turns of Tunisian political life. Most of his classmates are elsewhere today.... A brilliant journalist for L'ACTION from 1955 to 1958, he then moved into the high political echelons never to leave them. Practically 13 years without interruption as head of the Secretariat of State for Cultural Affairs, to which from time to time he added the Secretariat of State for Information, in 1974 he became--another surprise--minister-director of the presidential cabinet, then, in 1976, he returned to Information. In addition, he has been mayor of Carthage for 20 years.

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What immediately attracts one's attention upon meeting Chedli Klibi is his art of listening, a very rare quality in politicians--most of them prefer to listen to themselves talk. Klibi listens patiently, never interrupts, then, concisely and precisely summarizes the question or gives an appropriate answer.

The graduate in literature, former professor, writer and drafter of many of President Bourguiba's speeches, visibly suppresses the temptations which the politician might have in the direction of facileness or demagogy. The conflict between the two is appreciable at every moment and the result is often attractive.

Another revealing characteristic--very few Tunisians are aware of it--Chedli Klibi is a profound believer. Without ostentation. Discretion always. That is the mark of believer-philosophers.

His book, "Culture: Civilization's Wager" [La Culture, Un Pari Civilisationnel] (JEUNE AFRIQUE No 961) offers his analyses with limpid luminosity of the interaction between man and the cosmic order. This leads one to guess that he has reflected intensely on the meaning of the universe and life and that from it he has a conception which is not the product of ideas received but of a permanent intellectual quest.

Does this profile match the obligatory qualities and fault of a secretary general of the Arab League? In an organization which combines heterogeneous states with often opposite interests and vocations, which, moreover, as Chedli Klibi himself puts it, do not have "the dimension of time and duration...." in which morality is subject to the law of numbers, the law of oil and the law of force, should not the secretary general be less intellectual and more down-to-earth, less virtuous and more cynical, less discreet and more political? We suspect that this is not Chedli Klibi's opinion. This is apparent in the following pages on which the secretary general of the Arab League answers the questions of Souhayr Belhassen, Sophie Bessis and Abdelaziz.

Arab Unity Called A 'Must'

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 10 Oct 79 pp 72-76

[Interview with Chedli Klibi, secretary general elect of the Arab League, by Souhayr Belhassen, Sophie Bessis and Abdelaziz Dahmani: "For Palestine and Not Against Egypt"--date not given]

[Text] [Question] There is a lot of talk about the "Arab world," but how is it to be defined?

[Answer] The Arab world is a mosaic of peoples, or one nation in the modern sense of the term. In fact, it is above all a community of language,

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culture and history. It is also an objective solidarity due to a similarity of problems: like the whole Third World, it is struggling against economic exploitation and the political influence of foreign countries.

The Arab world is a community united by very strong hands. If it were necessary to sum it up, I would say that there is unity for a series of fundamental principles and a diversity of behavior. The conditions necessary for an action of rapprochement and cooperation, therefore, exist. One has often begun with unity at the summit, at the level of political superstructures. We must now work on social, cultural, and economic cooperation, those are the real bases of a solid community.

[Question] In this context, what is your idea of Arab unity?

[Answer] In this framework, unity is a vow, a project. It must be looked upon as an objective. Are we to attain it soon or in a very long time? That is a false problem. What is essential is that all our actions converge on this goal.

[Question] Is the Arab League the best way to attain this objective? Has it not allowed the chances of reaching that objective pass by?

[Answer] The Arab League has had a singular destiny. It was established over 30 years ago by a small number of countries to organize cooperation between states; its charter makes no mention of peoples nor of the Arab nation. The major problem of the Arab countries in the 20 years following the establishment of the League was that of the political liberation of those countries. But the league had not been conceived as a means of struggle; therefore, it found itself at the outset moving in the wrong direction [porte-a-faux]. Its historical mission, the liberation of the Arab peoples, was sacrificed to its official mission which was to organize cooperation between states. It failed in the first mission, and it has not succeeded in the second. That was an initial misdirection. The second involves Palestine. The states of the league thought that the defense of Palestine was a matter for governments and that it was their responsibility to recover that part of Arab soil. They assumed the responsibility for operations instead of limiting themselves to giving their support to a people fighting from the inside for their cause. This second historical misdirection was fatal to the League, as it did not understand that in a struggle for liberation the primary role belongs to the people. However, there were not only negative aspects to the league's past--far from it.

[Question] How should it be changed to make it correspond better with its mission?

[Answer] In my opinion, the League should pursue two objectives: the liberation of Palestine and the development of the Arab world. I think, moreover, that these two objectives are inseparable. In fact, the struggle

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against the Zionist position of preventing the Palestinian people from attaining freedom and dignity necessarily involves a struggle of civilization. It is only by developing that the Arabs will acquire the means to fight against Israel.

[Question] Can you give us your thoughts on this point?

[Answer] Israel is a people apart in the sense that it is made up of elites of very diverse origins and has the benefit of cadres to a degree unmatched in our countries. Israel is, moreover, supported by a diaspora which lives principally in the developed countries and which, therefore, has enormous economic, intellectual and technological means. If we were to emphasize all of the Arab capabilities which are to be found outside the Arab world, in the United States or Latin America, for example, we would see that they are quite numerous but that we do not know how to take advantage of them. We must correct this situation: the Arab countries will only become masters of their destinies if they develop rapidly. We must not only intensify co-operation with the non-Arab countries but above all stress the development of ties among Arab peoples. There are many sectional Arab organizations; however, their influence on the real Arab world is inadequate.

[Question] And Palestine?

[Answer] Our second objective is to organize the struggle for Palestine. Now, if armed struggle can be an acute phase of the global conflict, we must organize the latter in all sectors, by bringing all of our energies into play, without limiting ourselves to arms. And, in this context, information should play a major role. We must above all explain that it is a question of giving a fatherland to a people like any others.

Therefore, we must try to capture sympathies. Above all in countries where public opinion plays a role, that is, principally in Western Europe but also in the countries of the East, despite the constant support we are receiving from their governments. We must restate the fact that the Palestinian struggle does not have the objective of throwing the Jews into the sea but rather is designed to combat a double injustice. The first injustice consisted in dividing Palestine into two parts, one for the Jews, the other for the Arabs. But this injustice is backed by the international community and most of the Arab countries have thought, at one time or another, that in sum it would be wiser to come back to this division because it has the advantage of offering a solid legal basis for the Palestinians. However, there is a second injustice: the Israelis are now saying that this division is outdated. Now, that is false; what is right is never outmoded. To find an acceptable solution for everyone, we must get back to a basis which guarantees a dignified life to all and which gives the Palestinians a state. To make all that understandable, we must engage in the battle of information in all its forms.

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[Question] What should be done to improve the bad public image from which the Arabs continue to suffer in the West?

[Answer] First, change the role of the League's representatives abroad. The heads of our bureaus are in a way "diplomatic" representations. We also have need of persons capable of facing up to all situations, of activists, of people who can respond through the intermediary of the media or who can give the other side of the story.

[Question] Do you have a free hand to undertake these reforms?

[Answer] I hope so. In any event, my first tour of the Middle East (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Jordan) at the end of July confirmed the rightness of my undertaking.

[Question] Your trip to Europe at the end of September is, therefore, within the context of general indoctrination about the Palestinian problem?

[Answer] Absolutely.

[Question] Has not the absence of democracy in the Arab world been a handicap as important as underdevelopment?

[Answer] That is true. But we must not forget that democracy is linked to the stage of development. What has been developed by several generations, as in the West, cannot be superimposed from one day to the next upon societies in full evolution. Every form of democracy corresponds to a specific sociocultural environment. That said, it is up to us Arabs to create the conditions which can satisfy the general requirements of democracy. In this regard, the Iranian experiment could be historically important if it took its inspiration from the Islamic principle of the choura, Islamic democracy which has existed for 15 centuries and which makes it an obligation to consult the people.

[Question] Would the Tunisian Minister of Information have used this language?

[Answer] Why not? I have always clearly expressed my thoughts on this subject, in a moderate way, of course, but without ambiguity.

[Question] Another problem for the League which does not appear to have the means to act upon it: conflicts such as those of Lebanon, Yemen and the Sahara which are becoming more and more acute.

[Answer] These are chance incidents which occur too often, whether it is a question of the relations between certain countries of the Middle East or more serious conflicts. The League has its share of responsibility in this; however, we must play the conflicts down and limit the damage. We are

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seriously concerned about these conflicts and plan to undertake a series of ad hoc actions.

[Question] Do not the intercommunity fights within states, for which Iran seems to be serving as a catalyst, threaten to bring about a "Lebanonization" of the Arab Middle East?

[Answer] I do not think so. As far as Iran is concerned, I am not as pessimistic as many observers. That country is in the process of making a real revolution, with the negative aspects entailed therein, and is going through a period of intense upheaval. But I believe that the real principles of Islam will end up carrying the day. Tolerance, the appeal to reason and reflection are the first commandments of Islam. Therefore, we must wait for things to settle down. In Iran we are perhaps witnessing a unique experiment which could, if not serve as a model, at least open the way to the invention of a new Islamic civilization.

As for what is going on in Lebanon, at first sight that might seem to be a fight between religious communities; however, this aspect is accompanied by political and social conflicts which are just as important. Factors which are both internal and external originated the rupture of the intercommunitary equilibrium, and Israel is not a stranger to the situation: it has great interest in favoring the establishment of denominational states. But Lebanon can regain peace in a new equilibrium. The Lebanese people must show boldness, imagination and authority to reconstruct the country and the state. The other Arab nations should not intervene and confuse the issue; they should on the contrary support Lebanon morally and materially.

[Question] Israeli pressure is building up in South Lebanon without either the Arab countries or others doing anything.

[Answer] There is a striking similarity between the procedures and means used by the Israelis to increasingly destabilize Lebanon and those of the segregationists in Rhodesia with their multiple attacks against Zambia and Mozambique. Israel is seeking to provoke the departure of international forces from this region of the Middle East, to render the international organizations powerless in order to make their decisions impracticable and to thus doom the efforts undertaken to reestablish peace. Lebanon's only fault is being a multi-denominational state, a model and a good alternative to the racist entity, which has closed upon itself, represented by Israel and the Zionist ideology.

[Question] It seems that the Arab world has in a few weeks moved from a Pan-Arabism to a much broader Pan-Islamism. How did this change take place? What could the Arab world's place be in such a vast Islamic whole?

[Answer] It is much less a question of a change than a coexistence of two different sectors, I also think that the Islamic world does not only affect

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Muslims. The Islamic civilization includes Christians, just as it once included Jewish communities, before colonialism brought about divisions.

Pan-Arabism should promote Arab values; Pan-Islamism should have the same goal: the restoration of authentic Islamic values which are, however, continually renewed.

[Question] Does not oil have an influence on all of that?

[Answer] Certainly. But we have to consider certain counter-arguments. The Arab countries are not the only ones to possess this natural wealth, but no one talks about the other producers. Consideration of oil as a mere fuel is tantamount to its squandering. The United States uses its reserves sparingly. Why would not the Arabs do the same thing? They have all the more reason, for the moment, in accumulating treasury bonds or lines of credit in foreign banks, that is, we are being paid for oil with promises. If Saudi Arabia, for example, increases its production, it is a sign of goodwill to ease the international situation; it is in fact a sacrifice which others would hesitate to make. The Arab countries are accountable for their national wealth to their people. They should not waste it.

[Question] But the revenues derived from oil continue to support the dollar or the pound; investments for development have not passed the stage of pious vows. What, therefore, can the post-oil future of the Arab countries be?

[Answer] Oil revenues should be used to develop these countries and to create new wealth. True wealth is not that which accumulates in banks; it is of a human kind. But nothing is done in a day. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq, to cite only three countries, are in the process of training cadres of great value and changing rapidly. That said, we must act quickly, globally and in concert; and I have the intention of including on the agenda of the next Arab summit, the holding of which is to be decided by the meeting of foreign ministers in Tunis at the end of October, a question of an economic kind. We must absolutely combine our two great riches: money and men.

[Question] What questions will be on the agenda of the next Arab summit?

[Answer] Many subjects will be taken up: the problem of South Lebanon, Euro-Arab dialog, Arab-African cooperation and, perhaps, inter-Arab economic cooperation, a question I consider essential.

[Question] At the present time, the rich and underpopulated countries are handling the leadership of the Arab world, while the others, poor and overpopulated, are often lagging behind. How is this paradox to be overcome?

[Answer] By solidarity and cooperation. The peoples of the Maghreb, for example, are beginning to benefit from Arab capital. It is still not satisfactory; however, it is a sign of development.

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[Question] Has not the fear of questioning the world economic system checked inter-Arab cooperation notably as regards the Palestinian problem?

[Answer] In fact, there has never been a real inter-Arab dialog; it has often stumbled over the absence of consultation and lack of confidence, accentuated by the diversity of political systems. The effects of that are being felt at the level of the League, a reflection of the Arab world.

[Question] Do you think that President Sadat is "recoverable"?

[Answer] Yes. President Sadat made a calculation which has been shown to be false. He thought that Israel would make important concessions under American pressure.

He also thought that he could get more from extremist Begin than from a socialist or a liberal. But history rarely repeats itself. What is more, President Sadat wanted to prove that he did not wish a separate peace and felt that the most realistic way to help the Palestinians was to move through internal autonomy. There was a complete misunderstanding in that it was not a question of the autonomy of Cisjordan but of the self-administration of persons. It is not serious. One day Sadat will see that he is at an impasse. The Egyptian prime minister recently said: "We will march with Israel; we hope to succeed; but if that were ever to prove impossible, we will march in the other direction." However, I consider Sadat an intelligent and honest man, capable of recognizing that he is heading in the wrong direction. Courage is recognizing this fact and retracing his steps. I am not casting a stone at him. Moreover, part of Arab opinion had at one time approved the trip of Jerusalem, although several aspects of that visit are questionable. What is condemnable is that he is depriving the Arab world of this force which Egypt constitutes, as he is permitting Israel to no longer fear the existence of an Egyptian front. Finally, he is setting himself up as the guardian of the Palestinian people and is negotiating in their name. Only the latter have the right to determine their destiny. If Arafat had made this commitment, we would have respected it.

[Question] What do you think about the meetings of Yasser 'Arafat and certain European leaders?

[Answer] It is a political operation which has permitted the PLO to gain sympathy in Austria. His talks with Willy Brandt and Bruno Kreisky and recently in Spain with Prime Minister Suarez have also proved that 'Arafat is open to dialog.

[Question] Can we expect recognition of the PLO by the United States?

[Answer] Time is needed. President Carter is near the end of his term; he is going to face an election campaign and does not wish to run any risks. A persuasion campaign was started in Austria and Spain. It could develop in Europe. What is more, even in the United States voices are being lifted

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which call for recognition of the PLO, including some in 'pro-Zionist sectors. All of that will combine to create a political element capable of helping the American president to take the plunge.

[Question] What is the status of Arab-African dialog?

[Answer] Things could be going better. But many things have already been done since the Cairo summit (March 1977). Economic cooperation must develop even more. To have this happen, it is necessary to deepen the solidarity between the African and Arab worlds and not look upon it from the angle of bargaining. We must tighten the bonds between the OAS and the Arab League. Political factions should not be taken into account when it is a question of two communities of such importance.

[Question] You speak of the spirit which reigned at the last OAS summit in Monrovia.

[Answer] That spirit will change.

[Question] You were in Havana at the sixth summit of the nonaligned countries. What conclusions and what lessons do you draw from it?

[Answer] The clarifications which we contributed permitted the nonaligned countries to take a very clear position by supporting the Palestinians without reservations and by upholding Arab claims to Jerusalem and the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

The Arab countries would have liked for that summit to go as far as sanctioning Egypt for its agreements with Israel. I think personally that the essentials were attained: the unanimity of the nonaligned countries on the point that the Egyptian-Israeli agreements are an obstacle to a just and global peace. This point remains to be better exploited.

[Question] Is a return to the Geneva conference possible to advance a settlement in the Middle East?

[Answer] A return to Geneva will only be possible when we have proved the futility of a dialog between Cairo and Tel Aviv. We still have not done this. We must convince the international community that the solution is not to be found there. It can already see that, despite its influence, Egypt has been unable to carry along the rest of the Arab world; even the moderate countries have not followed. What Arab state would dare to assume the responsibility for liquidation of the Palestinian cause?

[Question] The decisions of the Arab summit in Baghdad (November 1978 to March 1979) represent for you the victory of the moderates; however, is there not the risk of going beyond that?

[Answer] Some would have liked to have gone much further. The Baghdad summit merely states that acceptance of negotiations with Israel on internal autonomy would end in acceptance of the Palestinian cause as an Israeli

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internal problem. No one can assume the responsibility for liquidation of the Palestinian cause in such a manner.

[Question] Are not the measures taken against Egypt more apt to hurt the Egyptian people than President Sadat's actions?

[Answer] Baghdad considered that question and very clearly recommended that no sanction be taken which might have a direct fallout on the Egyptians. Obviously, it is very difficult; however, we will try to keep an eye on it. The important point is not to fight against Egypt but for Palestine and to do so in such a way that Egypt will rejoin the Arab fold.

[Question] Would not the ideal situation be to see Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League, in Cairo?

[Answer] I strongly hope that Egypt will rejoin the League. It will then be up to the member states to decide whether the League will be reestablished in Cairo.

[Question] Apart from the immediate situation, what is the meaning of the move of the League from Cairo to Tunis, that is, its move from the Maghreb to the Maghreb?

[Answer] Many Arab states are happy over the strengthening of the role of the Maghreb and not only the Maghrebian countries. Not only will the Maghreb feel more involved, as the League will have more reality for it, but today it is the Maghreb which is finally turning its eyes toward the Maghreb. The latter has always had a complex about the Arab East and at the same time an attraction for everything that originated in it. What constitutes the wealth of the Maghreb, in addition to its belonging to Arab-Islamic civilization, is that double Mediterranean and African dimension. The greater integration of the Maghreb in the Arab world does not mean the victory of one of the three components but simply the fact that it is now taking on greater importance. For the destiny of the Maghreb is tied to that of the Maghreb: culturally, obviously; economically, imperatively; politically, that could become a serious plan if we knew how to go about it, that is, with realism, patience and without ulterior motives.

[Question] Will you continue to perform the duties of deputy in the Tunisian National Assembly, member of the Political Bureau of the PSD [Destourian Socialist Party] and mayor of Carthage?

[Answer] I have since my youth been a member of the Destourian Socialist Party. I have been a member of the central committee for 20 years and of the political bureau for 10 years. It is not normal for me to put an end to these basic political options which I value greatly. The solution which has been found, and which is just, is to put me on leave during my term as secretary-general of the League. As for the legislative elections, I will not present my candidacy.

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SENEGAL

OPPOSITION LEADER THREATENS PRESIDENT, PROCLAIMS ARAB AFFILIATION

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 4-10 Oct 79 p42

/Interview with al-Shaykh Ahmad Nayyas by Faruq Abu Zahar: "Senegal's Khomeyni Gives Senghor 90 Days Time Limit; Ahmad Khalifah Nayyas, an Important Islamic Leader in Senegal Says He Granted President Senghor 90 Days To Renounce His French Citizenship...or Else"

/Text "I gave Leopold Senghor 90 days to make up his mind. If he does not renounce his French citizenship, I will oust him from the government."

This was what al-Shaykh Ahmad Khalifah Nayyas (33 years) the young leader of the new Islamic Senegalese Party said. Then he looked at me to note my reaction to the seriousness of his statement, and then he went on to add, "I will officially invite you in 3 months to visit the liberated lands."

If what al-Shaykh Nayyas said is true, Senghor will become the 16th president to leave the scene of African politics this year.

President Leopold Senghor, who is a poet, is considered today one of Africa's oldest leaders. He came to power 20 years ago. He is a devout Christian, and he rules a country whose population--over 95 percent of 5 million--is Moslem.

Al-Shaykh Ahmad Khalifah Nayyas belongs to an old Islamic Arab family in the Senegal. This family has led the Islamic Movement for a long time. Nayyas studied in Arabic schools in the Senegal, and he continued his studies in Tunisia and then in France where he acquired his graduate degrees in law.

/Question Why did you choose France, the country that has close ties with President Senghor, to proclaim this position against him?

/Answer We chose France in particular to proclaim the birth of the Senegal Liberation Front so that our voice would be heard because of France's location and because there is a large Senegalese community /here.

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# The Koran Is Our Constitution

/Question/ What are the principles of the party that you have established?

/Answer/ We began party activity 5 years ago by building and organizing the popular base. During the last month of Ramadan we made the official announcement of the birth of the Islamic Party which has more than 300,000 members.

The party is fundamentally based on Islamic law. The Noble Koran is our constitution. It is on the basis of these principles that we are calling for support of Arab causes. In fact, we are calling for the admission of the Senegal into the Arab League because of its location on the southern borders of Mauritania and because 95 percent of the population are Moslems of Arab descent.

When we come to power, we will impose a tax that we will call the Jerusalem dinar, and we will send the proceeds that we collect to the PLO.

/Question/ What specifically is your position on President Senghor's regime?

Al-Shaykh Ahmad adjusted the turban on his head and said:

/Answer/ We are an opposition party. Three days ago a governmental decree was issued requiring that we be prohibited from open political activity on the pretext that the existing four parties were enough. This led us to proclaim the Senegal Liberation Front after we were joined by other opposition forces that have hitherto been unrecognized.

/Question/ What specifically are your demands?

/Answer/ We are first of all asking that President Senghor renounce the French citizenship that he acquired as a result of his marriage to a French woman. We gave him a period of 90 days to do this. Otherwise, I will order the people to overthrow him.

## Senghor Destroyed the Economy

/Question/ Will the problem be solved if he renounces the French nationality?

/Answer/ Not at all! This demand is the first step. We want to tell the world that the people of Senegal are being governed by a foreigner and that we have a right to rebel against him and to overthrow him.

Senghor destroyed the economy of the country and he borrowed heavily from abroad. Most of these funds were earmarked for the benefit of projects owned by Zionists. The interest rate on loans rose in a frightening manner. Today the interest that we pay on these loans every month is what we used to pay in a year. That is, the volume of loans has increased 12 times during the last 4 years. At the present time Senegal is a bankrupt state that is incapable of meeting its due debts.

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/Question/ Where then is Senegal's wealth?

/Answer/ We're betting on the future. In 5 years we will become an oil exporting country and the extraction of uranium will begin. Uranium will be the fuel of tomorrow. We want this wealth to be for the people and not for foreigners. At present the wealth that exists in Senegal is exploited by three Zionist families with whom Senghor shares the profits.

/Question/ But how will Senghor remain in power throughout this long period of time in spite of the fact that the majority of the people, as you say, reject him?

/Answer/ Senghor relies on two principal powers. /He relies on/ the French Army--and the largest French base outside of France is in the Senegal--which has the capability of confronting any rebellion. The second power /he relies on/ is that of the corporations that monopolize the economy.

/Question/ What about the Senegalese Army? What is its position?

/Answer/ It is not to be depended upon. There are 10,000 soldiers in the Senegalese Army, but so far it has played no role. Even its ammunition is in the French barracks.

/Question/ Are you against Senghor for political reasons or because he is a devout Christian?

/Answer/ There is no distinction here. We do not make a distinction between religion and politics, but the question is basically a political one. In the past the president used to rely on a truce between him and the Moslem scholars. But now the truce has come to an end, and those people have gone back to fighting him under the banner of overthrowing him because of the positions he has taken against the Arabs and Moslems. He forbids, for example, the writing of the Senegalese language in Arabic letters, and he does not allow the people to volunteer in the ranks of the PLO.

/Question/ It is being said that compared with what is happening elsewhere in Third World countries, there is a semi-democracy in the Senegal.

/Answer/ This democracy is artificial. All the party chairmen who are permitted by Senghor to work are married to French women and have French citizenship. They all vie among each other to please the French. The Senegalese minister of the interior is a French man by the name of Jean Collin. Senghor brought him 15 years ago to take care of security affairs and granted him Senegalese citizenship.

/Question/ What about Moslem representation in parliament?

/Answer/ Of a total membership of 100, there are 53 Moslem members in spite of the fact that we are a vast majority.

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/Question/ How do you evaluate the regime's relations with France?

/Answer/ The Senegal is still a French colony. All the features of colonialism are still there. There is political, economic and cultural pressure. We do not have our own currency in the Senegal because the French franc is used. We do not have an army because there is the French Army. Senegal does not have a specific policy because the French policy is the one that is followed.

/Question/ What about the citizens of the country?

/Answer/ They are poor. They have nothing. They are always being subjected to the harshest pressures.

/Question/ What about the relationship of the Senegalese people to the Arabs?

/Answer/ We look upon Arab issues as through they were our own common issues. Jerusalem concerns us as Moslems just as much as it concerns the Arabs. Our destiny is historically and religiously tied with that of the Arab countries.

/Question/ Is there an attitude of hatred for the Arab community?

/Answer/ Not at all. Senghor tried to create this hatred by means of proposing in literature and in culture the notion of the negro. He used to say that it was the Arabs who enslaved the blacks, but the people forced the president to abandon this notion.

Today in Senegal there are 40,000 Arabs who are also suffering from the monopolistic corporations. Half of them are Senegalese citizens.

Smoke Released by Senghor

/Question/ There has been talk about separatist attempts in South Mauritania, and it is said that these attempts are coming from the Senegal.

/Answer/ Everything that happened was merely smoke that was spread in the atmosphere by Senghor. It is known that the borders that were drawn up by colonialism were artificial borders and that they only express the interests of colonialism.

In the past, Senegal and Mauritania were part of one nation. European colonialism did take over our country that used to occupy a significant part of the Moslem empires of Mali and Sunghali. They remained Islamic lands. The Marabouts emerged from that land and spread out westward as far as Spain and France.

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During the colonial age Senegal and Mauritania had one capital that was called Dar al-Islam. But the colonial power changed its name to Saint Louis. To this day the north of the Senegal is inhabited by purely Arab tribes like all-Uluf and al-Falatah. Accordingly, there are negro communities in South Mauritania, but they are Arab in origin.

/Question/ How did Islam come to the Senegal?

/Answer/ Islam came to the Senegal by two means. It came by means of the Arab tribes that lived in Morocco and traveled southward to Mauritania crossing the Senegal River. The other road /that Islam traveled/ was an eastern road that began in Egypt and then the Sudan, Chad, the Niger and Mali. This took place 900 years ago.

/Question/ Will you return to the Senegal?

/Answer/ Of course I will return in spite of the fact that Senghor has asked that I be put on trial because I oppose his regime. This will not prevent me from returning to Senegal. He does not frighten me. As I said, I gave him a period of 90 days. If he does not get out, I will most certainly force him out.

/Question/ What will you do if France interfered on his behalf?

/Answer/ I have warned the French Government against the consequences of that because we will be compelled in return to ask for the assistance of forces that are allied with us.

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WESTERN SAHARA

CUBANS REPORTED TO BE WORKING BEHIND SAHARAN LINES

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 25-31 Oct 79 p 17

[Text] Information derived from Western intelligence agency reports indicates that Senor Izquierdo [Phonetic], the first counselor of the Cuban Embassy in Algiers, is the one who is in charge of organizing the sending of technical and military assistance to the POLISARIO. According to this information, there are 150 Cuban experts and instructors working in the POLISARIO base in the Tindouf region. Some of these belong to the Cuban diplomatic corps and enjoy maximum freedom of movement.

These instructors and experts are training POLISARIO units in surprise attack tactics, using vehicles and establishing caches for arms, equipment, and fuel at stations along the routes they take in preparation for these attacks.

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